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# SECTIONALISM

AND

## SOME OF ITS FRUITS.

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BY

BENJAMIN F. GRADY,

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND THE NATURAL SCIENCES  
IN AUSTIN COLLEGE (HUNTSVILLE), TEXAS, 1859-61;

1ST SERGEANT CO. K 25TH TEXAS (DISMOUNTED) CAVALRY,  
CONFED. ARMY, 1862-5;

MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 1891-5;

AUTHOR OF "THE CASE OF THE SOUTH AGAINST THE NORTH"  
AND OF "THE SOUTH'S BURDEN."

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*"Truth would you teach, or save a sinking land,  
All fear, none aid you, and few understand."*

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## SECTIONALISM AND SOME OF ITS FRUITS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

There is a growing disposition all over the South to forget the past, to treat the long quarrel between the sections as ancient history, and teach our children to think of all the States in the Union with equal respect and patriotic pride; and no one can more heartily sympathize with this tendency than I could if it did not carry with it an acceptance of the North's explanation of sectional unfriendliness in this country. To this I can never consent; and I propose in this pamphlet to set forth the evidence on which all unbiased readers can decide for themselves who was responsible for our sectional antagonism.

I have entered upon no easy task. Up to 1861 all our text-books were written by Northerners; since the war the few Southern authors have gone to these Northern books instead of original records, for information on historical and political subjects; and during the last forty years Northern text-books, magazines, newspapers and teachers have been preparing the *post-bellum* sons and daughters of the South to accept doctrines unsupported by trustworthy foundations. There is, too, a deplorable gap in the history of this country, as it has been read by all generations of our people; very little has ever been said about "The Articles of Confederation" and the acts of "The United States in Congress Assembled". Indeed, that Congress is passed over in silence in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, in the several volumes written by John Fiske, in the famous speeches of Daniel Webster, in the "Speakers" Northern publishing houses have been for a century furnishing to our school-boy orators, &c.; and all the bodies which met from July 4, 1776, to March 4, 1789, have been called "The Continental Congress." And I cannot avoid the suspicion that there was a purpose in this; the second one of "The Articles of Confederation" declared that "each State retained its sovereignty, freedom and independence"; and the difficulty of explaining how a State could "retain" what it did not possess had to be disposed of!

But this is not the only difficulty confronting us; no exhaust-

ive and truthful story of the Revolutionary War and of the conduct and sacrifices of the two sections has been preserved; and, as ex-President John Adams wrote to the editor of Niles's *Register*, January 3, 1817, "nothing but misrepresentations, or partial accounts of it, will ever be recovered."

Feeling keenly the importance of clearing away the perversions of truth, the misrepresentations of sectional differences and the suppressions of vital facts, so as to discover the real bone of contention between the sections, I began twenty years ago to gather up the records which have been practically buried out of the people's sight in unweildy volumes or in obscure corners of libraries; and the farther I have searched, the more I have been convinced that at no period since July 4, 1776, has the South been guilty of real or attempted injustice to the North. The evidence on this point was clear enough eleven years ago when my "*Case of the South against the North*" was published; but continued research has added so much corroborating testimony that I am constrained to lay it before my readers, even at the risk of being charged with a desire to reopen old sectional wounds.

While doing this, I deem it important to condense as much as I can; and for this reason I will inform the reader that, with exceptions mostly noted in the text, I am chiefly indebted to Marshall's *Life of Washington*, the *Journal of William Maclay* (one of Pennsylvania's first Senators), Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Mathew Carey's *Olive Branch*, Kettell's *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits*, Gales and Seaton's *Annals of Congress*, Rice's *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, North Carolina Colonial Records, Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Elliot's *Debates*, The *Federalist*, The *Statesman's Manual*, Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, Ewing's *Northern Rebellion and Southern Secession*, Irving's *Life of Washington*, Bancroft's *Life of William H. Seward*, Alden's *Manifold Cyclopædia*, the *Congressional Globe*, *American Military Biography*, and *Reports of Executive Departments*.

B. F. GRADY.

Clinton, N. C., June, 1909.



## CHAPTER I.

## THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO SECTIONS.

## NEW ENGLANDERS.

According to Macaulay, Hume and other English Historians, the Puritans of England, up to the time of the restoration of the Stuarts, "looked upon their enemies as Amalekites, Philistines, and idolaters, whom they, as God's chosen people, were commissioned to punish and overthrow"; and according to the records which have been preserved by the "ancient writers" of New England, as they are called in C. B. Taylor's History of the United States, those who came over to Plymouth, "safely housed in the ark which God in His providence had directed them to prepare", to take possession of the new home which God, by "a desolating plague" sent among the Indians three years before, had made ready for "the consecrated cargo" of the Mayflower, brought their commission with them; and from that day to this they have never lost sight of that duty which in the early days required them to burn witches, bore holes in the tongues of quakers, and to expel from the land which they had received "as an inheritance" every person who dared to have opinions of his own; and in later days bound them to regulate the affairs of other people and to dictate manners and morals to Southerners. This duty, although not formally set forth in the writings of their distinguished scholars, lurks as an inference in all their discussions of sectional questions; and, if the reader entertains any doubt about this assertion, let him read what Professor Prescott of Harvard University said in a letter to Governor Aycock in 1901, while complimenting him for the sentiments expressed in his inaugural address. Referring to the supervising obligations of New Englanders, he said that they "have not been able to feel that they could trust the purposes and the candor of the people of the South."

## SOUTHERNERS.

Instead of being settled by what Bancroft calls the "homogeneous and compact population of the Northeast", the Southern Colonies became the homes of emigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Moravia and other countries where the regulations of Church or State rendered life disagreeable. Some were Catholics, some were Protestants, and a few were Jews; and among the Protestants were

representatives of all the prominent sects into which Christians were then divided.

The travels of these people and their interminglings with strangers and with each other led to broader conceptions of the rights and duties of man and to that tolerance of dissenting opinions which made the Southerners the pioneers in the movement to divorce Church and State and to maintain that "all just government rests on the consent of the governed". It was of the descendants of these people that the late Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, said not long before his death: "They are a noble race."

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## CHAPTER II.

### SECTIONAL DIFFERENCES.

1. Although he admitted the claims of the Puritans that New England was their "inheritance" and that they were the special favorites of the Almighty, when he comes to what Irving calls their "most sanguinary atrocities" in their wars with the Indians and especially to that appallingly brutal attack on the Narragansetts, in 1675, Taylor, writing in 1830, says: "Even at this distant period, we cannot recall this scene without pain." And Lawson, in his *History of North Carolina* (written about 1707) says that he was convinced from what he had learned of these Indian wars, that "they were occasioned by the unjust dealings of the Christians towards the Indians".

2. In Knickerbocker's *History of New York*, Irving tells how the "knowing men of the East" counterfeited the local currency of New Amsterdam, and cheated the Dutch out of their "silver and gold, the Dutch herrings, and Dutch cheeses."

3. The commercial regulations of England required the East India Company to carry all their tea to England and pay an import tax of twelve pence (nearly 25 cents) per pound before exporting it to the North American Colonies, so that the tax actually paid in these Colonies was nearly 30 cents per pound. This was a heavy tax and to avoid it New England shippers smuggled from Holland about all the tea consumed in America.

Much friction resulted; and to favor the East India Company and at the same time break up the smuggling, the law was changed so that that Company was permitted to ship their tea directly from the East to these Colonies, without paying the twelve pence; so that their tea, taxed only three pence per pound, could be sold at a price far below what the smugglers could afford to accept. Naturally enough this brought on a bitter

struggle between the British authorities and the shippers of New England, leading inevitably to that war in which as the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar declared, "the Southern Colonies had not the slightest particle of personal interest."—See Montgomery's "American History".

4. Soon after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, a movement was made for a formal union of the States; and when a draft of a Constitution was under discussion, Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, objected to one of the provisions because he "dreaded the low cunning" of the people of the Eastern States. He said privately: "If the plan now proposed should be adopted nothing less than ruin to some colonies will be the consequence. \* \* \* These colonies must be subject to the government of the eastern provinces. \* \* \* I dread their low cunning".

5. In November, 1775, after General Washington had been some months in command of the New England troops at Boston, he became disgusted with them. He wrote: "Such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole that I should not be surprised at any disaster that may happen. \* \* \* Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."

6. In December 1775, John Adams, a member of the Marine Committee in the Continental Congress, opposed the appointment of John Paul Jones to a captaincy in the navy, whose election Joseph Hewes was advocating. Afterwards Hewes wrote: "The attitude of Mr. Adams was in keeping with the always imperious and often arrogant tone of the Massachusetts people at that time."

7. While, in the autumn of 1775, the Continental Congress and all patriots were anxiously laboring to secure the sympathy and co-operation of the people of Canada, and Gen. Washington sent Arnold to Quebec with "addresses" to be distributed among the people "to conciliate their affections", directing him, too, to be careful to "check any attempt to plunder", he fitted out two armed vessels and directed them to cruise in the Saint Lawrence River and capture any British transports which might be found carrying supplies to the British forces at Quebec. "But failing to intercept the brigantines, they landed at Saint John's, plundered the house of the Governor and several private dwellings, and brought off three of the principal inhabitants as prisoners, one of whom, Mr. Callbeck, was president of the Council, and acted as Governor".

8. On November 11, 1775, a Boston privateer, the Eagle, belonging to Elijah Freeman Paine, captured and carried off the brigantine Joseph which belonged to Hewes (Joseph) and Smith

(Robert), merchants of Edenton, North Carolina, as she was returning home with a valuable cargo, including 3,000 bushels of salt; and if we make no mistake in interpreting the meaning of acts passed by the legislature of North Carolina in 1779, 1792 and 1800, New England's shippers frequently stole and carried off from North Carolina's coast slaves, free negroes and mulattoes. The act of 1779, to which the others were supplementary or amendatory, imposed the penalty of "death without benefit of Clergy" on any "person or persons who shall hereafter steal, or shall by violence, seduction or any other means, take or convey away any slave," &c.

9. In November, 1775, while general Richard Montgomery was besieging Fort Saint John, he was continually thwarted in his plans by his Connecticut, New York and New Hampshire troops; and he wrote: "Were I not afraid the example would be generally followed, and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops whose operations I cannot direct. I must say I have no hope of success, unless from the garrison's wanting provisions".

10. General Philip Schuyler, who was co-operating with General Montgomery in the Canadian expedition, was so disgusted with his troops that he determined to retire from the service, informing the Continental Congress of his intention; but the intreaties of that body and particularly of General Washington induced him to change his plans.

11. After Gen. Washington had been in command of the New England troops nearly eight months, and had labored to perfect plans to attack the British troops in Boston, a favorable opportunity offered itself about the middle of February, 1776, "when the Bay became sufficiently frozen for the transportation of troops." He then summoned a council of war and proposed that an attack be made on the enemy; but his officers objected to the movement. In a letter to Joseph Reed, his Military Secretary, he said: "But behold, though we had been waiting all the year for this favorable event, the enterprise was thought too dangerous".

12. In November, 1776, the British brigantine *Active*, loaded with clothing for Gen. Burgoyne's army, was captured off the coast of Cape Breton by the *Alfred*, commanded by Capt. John Paul Jones. He appointed "Lieutenant Spooner" to take command of the prize, to proceed with all haste to Edenton, North Carolina, and deliver her to "Robert Smith, Esquire," who was the partner of Joseph Hewes, through whose influence, being a member of the Marine Committee in the Continental Congress. Jones had been appointed Senior First Lieutenant in the navy. But "Lieutenant Spooner" carried the prize to Dartmouth,



Massachusetts, and delivered it to his brother, who was prize agent.

13. During Washington's struggles with the British on Long Island and in the city of New York more than four thousand New England militia deserted, and carried their ammunition home with them—"a serious loss," Irving says, "at this critical juncture."

14. After the defeat of Col. Baum's Germans and Indians at Bennington Aug. 16, 1777, Gen. Stark's eight hundred militia, "flushed with the success of the day, abandoned the pursuit, and gave themselves up to plunder."

15. Bancroft says that the tendency to a formal Union was weakening in November, 1777, and among the reasons he includes "opposing interests" and "fears on the part of the South of the more homogenous and compact population of the North-east."

16. In Bancroft's "American Revolution," volume III, it appears that after Washington's experiences with New England troops led him to complain of "the unfitness" of some of his general officers and to regret that he had accepted the office of Commander-in-Chief, the New England members of the Continental Congress began to oppose all his recommendations and to subject him to the humiliation of treating Gates as his superior. They forced on him staff officers who were objectionable to him; and their sectional blindness led to a turn in affairs which has been carefully left out of most of the books which have dealt with the Revolution—the treason of Arnold. Referring to the appointment of five major-generals in 1777, Bancroft says: "In the appointment of general officers Congress gave little heed to Washington. In his opinion, there was not in the army a 'more active, more spirited, and more sensible officer' than Arnold, the oldest brigadier; but in the promotions he was passed over, on the pretext that Connecticut had already two major-generals. The slight rankled in Arnold's breast; to Washington he complained of the wound to his 'nice feelings'; to Gates he wrote:

'By heavens! I am a villian if I seek not  
A brave revenge for injured honor.'

17. On June 28, 1778, while the Continental Congress was endeavoring to agree upon the provisions of their proposed articles of Confederation, the Delegates from Massachusetts moved, "on behalf of their State", that the sixth section of the ninth Article "be reconsidered so far as it makes the assent of nine States necessary to exercise the powers with which Congress was thereby invested". That is to say, Massachusetts

wished to empower less than nine States to "grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace", to "enter into treaties or alliances", to "appropriate money", to "agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased", and to agree upon the number of "sea forces to be raised".

But, being afraid of the ship-building and the commercial classes of Massachusetts, the Congress rejected the motion.

18. In Dr. James Thacher's "Military Journal of the Revolution", in "Memoirs of Major General Heath", in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America", and in numerous other works which can be found in the Congressional Library, we have an account of military movements during the Revolution which are not even referred to in the books our people have been reading for a century. Here is a brief outline of them:

In June, 1779, the British established a military post at Castine, a village near the mouth of the Penobscot river, and about nine miles east of Belfast, sending there from Halifax about one thousand men and several armed vessels. The General Court of Massachusetts planned an expedition to drive them away; and such was their confidence in the movement that they consulted no experienced military officer, nor desired the assistance of any Continental troops, thus reserving for their State the honors of success; and to arouse enthusiasm among the people, they promised that whatever military stores or vessels should be captured should belong exclusively to the captors. They drafted fifteen hundred militiamen, whom they placed under the command of General Solomon Lovell. They equipped eighteen State and private ships, and hired twenty transports, having previously passed an act forbidding any vessel to leave a Massachusetts port under forty days; and they obtained of the Continental Congress a loan of the frigate Warren which was commanded by Captain Saltonstal, a New Englander. This officer was given the command of the fleet.

The expedition started on its mission about July 20, and reached its destination on the 24th. On the 25th they commenced cannonading the ships and the batteries of the British, and kept up a cowardly fight till August 12th, when some British warships went up from New York, and caused the destruction of all the vessels, a loss to the State valued by one writer at \$7,000,000.

Thereupon, for the purpose of making this a "Continental debt", a Committee was appointed to locate the responsibility for the failure; and six of the nine gentlemen, the other three declining to sign the report, laid the blame on Saltonstal; and they succeeded in drawing out of the Continental treasury \$2,000,000.



Among the records which have been preserved is an interesting letter written to the New York members of the Continental Congress, March 22, 1780, by Eben Hazard, of Jamaica Plain, a suburb of Boston. He said:

"I have not received any letter from you since I wrote you last; but as I find this State have some expectations of making the Penobscot Expedition a Continental charge, I think it but a piece of justice to the State of New York, and indeed all the rest, to give some hints about it. That affair has made great uneasiness here; but very little has been published in the newspapers about it.

"Whether the printers were under any influence, or what the reason was, I shall not pretend to say \* \* \*

"In that Report the principal blame is laid upon the Commodore (Saltonstal); \* \* \* but from the face of the Report it appears to me that, as he was a Continental officer, it was hoped his balk would keep the smaller fry out of sight, and thereby the credit of the State would be saved, and a plea furnished for saddling the Continent with the expense."

Coinciding with Mr. Hazard, William Willis ("History of Portland, Maine", published in 1833) said: "It was believed that had our soldiers not been checked (by Gen. Lovell) in their first onset, they would have been able from their superior force to have entered and dislodged the enemy from their unfinished works. Such is believed to have been the opinion of General Wadsworth, whose conduct in the whole course of the expedition merited unqualified approbation. He was in the midst of every danger and suffering; and our soldiers said, 'if the chief command had been entrusted to him, success would have crowned our arms'."

And in "Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island", Thomas Philbrook, of Providence, who served on one of the sloops in this expedition, declares that Gen. Lovell was strongly suspected of being a traitor.

19. When John Paul Jones, commanding the *Ranger*, was in St. George's Channel planning a descent on the Irish coast by night in order to surprise and capture the *Drake*, a twenty-gun British ship, his New England officers would not consent to the movement. Jones says in his "Narrative": "This project, however, greatly alarmed my lieutenants; they were poor, they said, and their object was gain, not honor; they accordingly excited disobedience among the ship's company, by persuading them that they had a right to determine whether the measures adopted by me were well concerted or not".

20. In a Report made by the Senate Committee on Public Lands (William R. King being Chairman) in the winter of 1831-2, this statement occurs:

"The rule of distribution (surplus revenue from sale of lands) among the States (as proposed in a pending bill) makes no distinction between those States which did or did not make cessions of their vacant land to the Federal government. Massachusetts and Maine, which are now selling and enjoying their vacant lands in their own right, and Connecticut, which received a deed for two millions of acres from the Federal government, and sold them for her own benefit, are put upon an equal footing with Virginia, which ceded the immense domain which lies in the forks of the Ohio and Mississippi, and Georgia, which ceded territory for two States."—See Benton, I, 278.

21. In 1786 the Congress of the Confederation, dominated by the Northern States, instructed John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to surrender to Spain the exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi below the mouth of the Yazoo, in exchange for valuable privileges to the commerce of New England. Thus the western parts of North Carolina (Tennessee) and Virginia (Kentucky) were deprived of a free outlet to foreign countries; and the indignation of these people led to much opposition to the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788-9.

22. In 1787 the Congress of the Confederation, eight States represented, sold to a number of Northern gentlemen (including Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Gen. Rufus Putnam, Gen. S. H. Parsons and Col. William Duer) 5,000,000 acres of land in Ohio, and accepted for payment \$3,500,000 of "Continental money," which was then worth one-eighth of its face value. In other words, these gentlemen purchased a tract of land as large as the State of New Jersey at less than nine cents per acre, thus laying the foundations for the "expansion" of New England in the lands which Virginia had ceded for the common benefit of all the States.

23. Patrick Henry's vigorous opposition to the adoption of the Constitution by the Virginia Convention was based mainly on "the character and disposition" of the people of some of the States with which Virginia would be leagued; and George Mason's objection was because "too much power was given to Congress—power that would finally destroy the State governments more effectually by insidious, underhanded means, than such as could be openly practiced."

24. Speaking of what he had experienced in the first session of the first Congress, Maclay said: "We Pennsylvanians act as if we believed that God made of one blood all families of the earth; but the Eastern people seem to think that He made none but New England folks"; in another place he says: "For my knowledge of the Eastern character warrants me in drawing this conclusion, that they will cabal against and endeavor to

subvert any government which they have not the management of"; and in another place (p. 260) he says: "I would now remark, if I had not done it before, that there is very little candor in New England men."

25. Referring to the treatment of Southerners by New England shippers who enjoyed a monopoly of our coastwise trade, Cary said in 1814 that they "uniformly treated them with outrage, insult and injury".

26. Speaking of military movements in 1776, Bancroft says that while John Adams, Chairman of the Marine Committee, "cultivated confidential relations with Charles Lee and Gates, he never extended the same cordial frankness to Washington."

27. During the war of 1812 John Lowell published in Boston a paper which he called "The Road to Ruin," in which (as quoted by Carey in his "Olive Branch") he thus spoke of the trading class of the people: "They engage in lawless speculations, sneer at restraints of conscience, laugh at perjury, mock at legal restraints, and acquire an ill-gotten wealth at the expense of public morals", &c., thus manifesting a disposition which, in the estimation of some people, has not entirely disappeared yet, as we may infer from this remark of Senator Bradley, of Kentucky, in a speech he delivered in the Senate on the 4th of May, 1909: "Mr. President," he said, "one more word and I am through. Give to Kentucky fair protection of her interests"—the right, he meant, to "prosper" at the expense of other States—"and I guarantee you it will be but a short time until Kentucky is as certainly a Republican State as the great State of Massachusetts."

28. The monopolistic privileges of Northern ship-owners enabled them to gradually diminish the share of foreign vessels in the commerce between the United States and other countries, so that by 1810 these ship-owners controlled 91 per cent of it; and as their sails whitened every sea and their seamen and merchants frequented all the trading ports of the civilized world, thus creating the impression everywhere that they were typical Americans, one result, when the war of 1812 commenced, is thus told in the Statesman's Manual:

"There existed a general impression among civilized nations that the spirit of liberty and independence which had carried America triumphantly through the war of the Revolution was extinguished by a love of gain and commercial enterprise, without courage and resolution sufficient to sustain the national rights".

29. After the passage of the Boston Port Bill began to bring distress upon the people of that city, cargoes of provisions were sent to them from Virginia, North Carolina and South Caro-

lina, even the back settlements contributing liberally for this purpose.

30. After the memorable repulse of the British at Charleston in June, 1776, Gen. Charles Lee (an Englishman), in his report to President Pendleton, of Virginia, said: "Colonel Thompson of the South Carolina Rangers acquitted himself most nobly in repulsing the troops who attempted to land at the other end of the island. I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's (Virginians), or the North Carolina troops". And of the men in the Fort he said: "The behavior of the garrison, both men and officers, with Col. Moultrie at their head, I confess, astonished me."

31. In July, 1775, the people of Charleston, South Carolina, sent an expedition to Saint Augustine and captured 15,000 pounds of powder on a British vessel. Some of this powder was sent to Boston, and some was used in the expedition to Canada in the fall and winter of that year.

32. Just after the disastrous battle of Long Island, William Hooper (a native of Boston), one of North Carolina's representatives in the Continental Congress, sent an account of that battle to Samuel Johnston, the President of North Carolina's Colonial Assembly, in which he pictured the conduct of the New England troops as most shameful, ending with this remark about the troops from "southward of the Hudson" river: They "have to a man behaved well and borne the whole brunt on Long Island; and that for which the Eastern troops must be damned to eternal fame—they have plundered friends and foes without discrimination".—See N. C. Colonial Records.

33. Based on the estimated white population of the Colonies in 1775, a calculation shows that the South (including Delaware) furnished 100 soldiers in the Revolution for every 552 of her population, while the North furnished 100 for every 672 of her population—a calculation which does injustice to the South since Gen. Knox, the first Secretary of War, admitted that the figures in his possession did not show, by a great deal, the full exertions of the South.

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## CHAPTER III.

### NEW ENGLAND IN THE OLD UNION.

1. While the people of New England were fretting about the non-intercourse acts of Jefferson's Administration, "Algernon Sidney" (probably J. Q. Adams) addressed "An Appeal" to them (see State Papers, 2nd Sess., 10th Cong.), in which this



question appears: "Recur to the period between peace and the present Government. Did not the commercial States enrich themselves at the expense of the agricultural?" And

2. Referring to this same period, and particularly to the disappearance of the wealthy men of Colonial times, Hildreth says in his "History of the United States": "In their place a new moneyed class had sprung up, especially in the Eastern States, men who had grown rich in the course of the war as sutlers, by privateering, by speculations in the fluctuating paper money, and by other operations not always of the most honorable kind." Vol. III, p. 465.

## CHAPTER IV.

### NEW ENGLAND IN THE NEW UNION.

1. In Charles Pinckney's proposed Constitution, which presented the general form and many of the provisions finally adopted, it was denied to the Congress that it could pass a navigation act unless supported by a two-thirds vote in each house, the agricultural States "dreading" the commercial States. The subject was debated for months, and fruitless efforts were made by the Northeastern delegates to have the provision stricken out so that a bare majority of a quorum in each house could pass a navigation act. At last a "bargain" was planned by which they got it out.

2. In the first Congress of "the more perfect Union", in spite of vigorous protests from Southerners, as Hugh Williamson and William B. Giles, laws were passed to give New England shippers a monopoly of our coastwise commerce and a partial monopoly of our foreign commerce, the value of which may be partly inferred from the following extract from a speech delivered by Daniel Webster to the Young Men of Albany, May 28, 1851:

"What does New York enjoy? What do Massachusetts and Maine enjoy? They enjoy an exclusive right to the coasting trade. \* \* \* It is this right which has employed so much tonnage and so many men, and given support to so many thousands of our fellow-citizens. Now what would you say, \* \* \* if the South and the Southwest were to join together to repeal this law, \* \* \* and invite the Dane, the Swede, the Ham-burgher, and all the commercial nations of Europe who can carry cheaper, to come in and carry goods"?

3. In that same Congress, in spite of vigorous opposition from Southerners, a plan was inaugurated to grant bounties to

New England's cod-fishermen; and by the help of fraudulent claims, as President Jackson charged in his annual message of December 7, 1830, they drew out of the Federal Treasury, up to 1860, \$13,000,000.

4. In that same Congress, in spite of vigorous opposition from the South, by threats on the part of Elbridge Gerry that the Massachusetts members "would proceed no further"—withdraw and break up the Union—and by other methods which Maclay considered disreputable, sixty-four millions of dollars of new Federal bonds were given to Northern speculators in exchange for nominally the same amount of Continental and State Revolutionary-War bonds for which those speculators had paid eight millions of dollars. This was done behind closed doors, and many of the lucky speculators were members of Congress.

5. Discussing the proceedings in Congress on March 9, 1790, two weeks after the "bargaining" began which resulted in the adoption of the funding and assumption schemes of the speculators, Maclay says: "At length they risked the question, and carried it, thirty-one votes to twenty-six \* \* \*. And this only in Committee of the whole, with many doubts that some will fly off on a roll call, and great fears that the North Carolina members will be in before a bill can be matured or a report gone through." That is to say, these schemers were anxious to compel North Carolina, then a member of the Union, to obey a law passed by a Congress in which she was not represented, and to "stand and deliver" to these speculators more than four and one-third millions of dollars, as a free gift, a burden equal to nearly eleven dollars per capita of the entire population of the State at that time.

6. In that same Congress, with the same opposition, a law was passed to give Northern shipbuilders a monopoly of our ship market, and to deny to a Southerner the right to purchase a foreign ship, even if the price was half as much as the New England price.

7. In that same Congress, with that same opposition, Izard and Butler, of South Carolina, and Monroe, of Virginia, leading in the fight, Robert Morris's "Bank of North America" was converted into "The Bank of the United States," and the speculators in Revolutionary-War securities, who had not shared in the sixty-four-millions-of-dollars deal, were permitted to subscribe for three-fifths of the stock and pay for it with some of these securities; and the result, as charged in President Jackson's Bank-veto message, was a "gratuity of many millions of dollars to the stockholders".

8. While these sectional measures were being perfected, Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, said that "some force was necessary" to compel Southerners to yield to the demands of New



England, and he was in favor of applying it, what he called the "common good" being his professed object; and Mr. Blaine, while admitting in his *Twenty Years in Congress* the sectional injustice of some of these measures, says that "patriotism"—Dr. Samuel Johnson's "last refuge of a scoundrel"—should have moved "the plantation States" to submit willingly to their enslavement.

9. In 1790, while Congress was planning a new tariff bill, Massachusetts sent a petition asking for "a remission of duties on all the dutiable articles used in the fisheries," whether re-exported or not—salt, rum, tea, sugar, molasses, iron, coarse woollens, lines and hooks, sailcloth, cordage and tonnage; "and also premiums and bounties". And this petition asked for all these special favors for a people to whom John Jay thus referred in the *Federalist* about two years before this: "With France and with Britain we are rivals in the fisheries, and can supply their markets cheaper than they can themselves, notwithstanding any efforts to prevent it by bounties on their own, or duties on foreign fish".

10. The committee appointed in the first Congress to draft a tariff bill was dominated by Northern merchants, and although they were appointed in April, and soon agreed on the important features of the bill, it was kept in the pockets of some of the committee until July, thus giving merchant vessels time to bring in their cargoes before it became a law; and Maclay says: "The merchants have undoubtedly regulated the prices of their goods agreeable to the proposed duties, so that consumers of dutied articles really pay the whole of the impost."

11. Up to 1814, according to Carey, the New England States, enjoying their monopolistic privileges, had "derived all the benefits from the Southern States that they would from so many wealthy colonies"; in his speech delivered in the House of Representatives March 31, 1897, Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Massachusetts, criticised the Southern nullifiers of 1832, and particularly George McDuffie, because they were attempting to "deprive the North of its prosperity", Mr. Walker asserting the claim that the North was entitled to a portion of the profits of slave labor in the South; and up to 1860, according to Gen. Donn Piatt (in Rice's "*Reminiscences*", &c.), Southern slavery "had been more valuable to the North than to the South."

12. Soon after the beginning of the War of 1812, President Madison made a call for the militia of the States. Gov. Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, refused to honor the call. In the correspondence between him and the Secretary of War, he was informed that if he called into service the militia of his State, refusing to put them "under the command of the Major General of the United States", "the expense attending their service would

be chargeable to the State, and not to the United States". But after the close of the war, Massachusetts sent to Congress a demand for nearly \$900,000 for services rendered by her militia during the war, and succeeded after a fourteen years' struggle in having an act passed to allow her \$430,000.

13. Having the power to do so, the New England banks gathered up the specie of the country in 1814, and used it to embarrass the Madison administration, and for another purpose which can be found on page 52 of the 3rd volume of Henry William Elson's sectional History of the United States. He says that in that year "the specie of the country drifted to New England banks"; and that "Boston banks would receive the notes of a Baltimore bank only at a discount of thirty per cent., and (Federal) treasury notes issued from time to time, at a discount of twenty-five per cent."

14. Up to 1860, according to Kettell's calculation, the Northern manufacturers, by the help of protective tariffs, had compelled the "South and West" to pay for their manufactures 1100 millions of dollars more than they would have cost in foreign countries—a colossal wrong which Henry William Elson's sectional History of the United States (vol. 3, p. 111) attempts to justify by this statement: "At the close of the recent war with England the South was more favorable than the North to a protective tariff. One cause of this was, it is asserted, that the South expected to work its own cotton; but this it could not do. Slave labor had not the intelligence to manufacture", &c.

But this slap at "slave labor" is not justified by facts. The protective feature of the tariff of 1816 was to last only three years, and its purpose was simply to insure capitalists against losses which would necessarily result from changes in their industries; and there was no intention to give them a permanent monopoly of the "home market". And as to the sectionalism which manifested itself in the passage of this act, the evidence of public records is against Mr. Elson; New England's votes were 17 yeas and 10 nays, and the five old "plantation States" gave 16 yeas and 35 nays.

15. Up to 1860 the North's share of "pork barrel" appropriations was several times as large as the South's. For example, from 1834 to 1845 the Northern members of the "old thirteen" received for internal improvements \$6,328,080 and the Southern members received \$653,100.

16. Up to 1860, according to the report of the "Public Land Commission" of 1883, about seventeen-twentieths of all gifts of public lands—amounting to more than four States as large as Kentucky—went to individuals, corporations, Territories and States west of the Mississippi river which could be relied on to strengthen the North in Federal legislation. These gifts were

for homesteaders, canals, roads and railroads, and do not include appropriations for public buildings, schools, &c. As to the amount of these we may not err greatly if we suppose they did not fall far behind the gifts to Nebraska. According to Land Office Reports, that State received 2,839,004 acres of land and \$3,400,000 in money. This was in 1864.

17. Up to 1838 the Revolutionary-War pensioners of the Northern States had drawn out of the Federal treasury more than two and a half times as much, per capita, as those of the South had; the report for 1838 shows that New England's share of this money was, per capita, about three and one-third times as large as the South's; and in 1848—67 years after the close of the war—New England's Revolutionary-War pensioners received more money than the pensioners of all classes (for services in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Indian Wars) in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

18. Adopting the Jamaica price (\$150) for an imported slave, and making a liberal allowance for errors, I find that, up to 1860, Northern slave-traders had carried out of the Southern States about \$250,000,000. But when the Republican party freed these slaves, the money was not returned.

19. Among the early provisions of tariff acts was one to grant to an importer of a taxed article a "drawback" of what he had paid if he exported the same article, either in its raw state or after it had gone through a process of manufacture. This law was taken advantage of by importers of raw sugar and molasses, as is explained in chapter 53 of Benton's "Thirty Years' View", and the tax-payers of the country were required to contribute unjust profits of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the exporters of refined sugar and New England rum.

It is a long story; and one illustration of their methods must serve as a key to all: Cheap whiskey, filtered through charcoal and mixed with rum, in about the proportion of four gallons of whiskey to one of rum, and then run through a rum distillery, was exported; and since the import tax on molasses during all these years, was 5 cents per gallon, these distilleries received a drawback of 25 instead of 5 cents per gallon on all the molasses they converted into rum. The tables in the census reports of 1850 show that of the 6,500,500 gallons of rum manufactured in 1849, all but 3,000 gallons were manufactured north of Mason and Dixon's line, and that the share of Massachusetts was 3,786,000 gallons; so that her unearned gain was about \$757,000. And let it not be forgotten that during all these years—from 1816 to 1846, with variations afterwards—the import tax on a gallon of rum ran from 38 to 90 cents per gallon, according to quality; so that these distillers were unjustly quartered on the

people, whether they exported their rum or sold it in this country.

20. As a result of sectional privileges and incidental favors enjoyed by the North from the beginning of the Union, Kettell calculates that the annual flow of money from the South to the North, at the time he wrote (1860), amounted to \$231,500,000; and the hope that the South could ever free herself from her vassalage had utterly vanished, since at that time the Senate of the United States was composed of thirty Southern and thirty-six Northern members, and some of the Territories were about ready to come in and strengthen the North.

21. To all this evidence it is hardly necessary to add that no Northerner has ever charged that any Southern statesman ever asked for the passage of a law to enable any Southern man, corporation or State to "prosper" at the expense of the Northern States. Nor can there be any doubt of the truth of the statement in "The Origin of the Late War", a work written by George Lunt, a Massachusetts lawyer. He says: "Of four several compromises between the two sections since the Revolutionary War, each has been kept by the South and violated by the North."

But with all the truths in easy reach, John W. Burgess, Ph. D., LL. D., in his "The Civil War and the Constitution", makes statements which moved "The Critic" (New Rochelle, N. Y., January, 1902) to say: "The chapter on the months preceding secession are of great interest. The tolerant attitude adopted toward the South, while at the same time the justice of the North's demands is never minimized, is an innovation in American history".

22. It appears, then, that no honest seeker after the truth can deny that sectional antagonism in the United States was due in part to an assumption of superior moral and intellectual qualities in New England and of distrust in the South; that the determining cause of secession was the fixed and irresistible purpose of the North to "prosper" at the expense of the South; and that "slavery" was simply a club in the hands of those who stood in the doorway of a Territory to prevent Southern families from finding new homes in the lands for which the taxing system of the Federal government had compelled them and their ancestors to contribute most of the purchase money.



## CHAPTER V.

## THE NEW ENGLANDER AND SLAVERY.

1. In 1638—eighteen years after that noted Jamestown incident—the Salem slave-ship, the “Desire”, brought into Massachusetts a number of negroes, and found ready sale for them. This, says Moore (“Notes”, &c.) “was not a private individual speculation; it was the enterprise of the authorities of the Colony”. But in one volume of the “American History Stories”, published by the “Educational Publishing Company” of Boston, it is said that the Georgians introduced slavery into their Colony because they “were not a God-fearing people as were the Puritans and Quakers”. And this book has found its way into Southern Schools!

2. In 1641 Massachusetts adopted her “body of liberties” as a written Constitution of Government, in which this provision occurs:

“There shall never be any bond slavery, villanage, or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us”—many Indians “willingly” accepting slavery in preference to death when permitted to choose.

3. In 1643 Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed a Confederation, mutually agreeing, among other stipulations, to surrender fugitive slaves.

4. In 1676 the New Englanders exterminated the Indian tribe which under Massasoit had befriended them for half a century, killing six hundred men and one thousand women and children in one battle, and selling the few survivors as slaves, among these being the nine-year-old grandson of Massasoit. He was shipped to Bermuda; and this was done after Rev. Samuel Arnold, of Marshfield, and Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, had advised that he be “butchered”.

5. In 1768, according to a British report (See Kettell), 6,700 negroes were shipped by Northern slavers from the west coast of Africa; and, if we adopt the Jamaica price, these traders carried home more than one million of dollars.

6. In October, 1905, according to the New York *Evening Post*, an insurance policy was shown to a gentleman in that city, which was issued to a New England Company, “about 1860”, on a cargo of slaves.

7. The slave trade was one of the most gainful employments of New England ships up to 1861. In that year the *Nightingale*, commanded by Francis Bowen, of Boston, was captured on the African coast, having on board 961 negroes, and was “ex-

pecting more"; and while she was being captured, nine other slavers escaped.—See Naval War Records, Vol. I.

8. In Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence he said of George III: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare", &c. But when his paper was submitted to the full Committee—the other members being John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York—this denunciation of the slave-trade was stricken out, because, perhaps, it might be offensive to the people who were represented by Adams and Sherman.

9. In June, 1854, a notable debate took place in the Senate of the United States between Senator A. P. Butler of South Carolina and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, in which the latter showed those qualities which led Senator Henry Wilson, as we are informed in H. G. Howard's "Civil War Echoes", to say that "Sumner thought anything that did not originate in his own brain or the Almighty's, was not worthy of consideration". In this debate he arrogantly asserted that Massachusetts "exterminated every vestige of slavery within her borders" in 1780: and Moore says that this falsehood "has been persistently asserted and repeated by all sorts of authorities, historical and legal, up to that of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth". But in Felt's "Salem", quoted by Moore, there is the following letter written by a prominent Massachusetts merchant, whose name and residence are omitted:

—————, Nov. 12, 1785.

"Capt. ———:

"Our brig of which you have the command, being cleared at the office, and being in every other respect complete for sea; our orders are, that you embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa, and then invest your cargo in slaves".

And even as late as 1793 a slave was sold at public auction in Cambridge, Massachusetts.—See *Watson vs. Cambridge*, 15 Mass., 286-7.

10. In framing the first tariff bill the Committee proposed a tax of six cents per gallon on molasses; but by methods which Maclay represents as discreditable, the New Englanders, including Vice-President Adams, succeeded in having it reduced to two and one-half cents, molasses being the raw material for their rum distilleries, rum being the chief article exchanged in



Africa for slaves, and the slave-trade being one of the most lucrative employments of the New Englanders.

11. In 1795 the Duke de Larochefoucauld-Liancourt visited the United States, and in his "Voyage dans les Etats-Unis" he states that "nearly twenty vessels from the harbors of the Northern States" were then employed in importing negroes to Georgia and the West Indies.

12. While the first Congress (1789) was framing its tariff bill, and "nearly twenty vessels from the harbors of the Northern States" were importing slaves to Georgia, Josiah Parker, a Representative from Virginia, moved that the bill be amended by imposing a tax of ten dollars on every slave imported; but a vigorous opposition, led by Roger Sherman of Connecticut prevented its adoption.

13. Slavery being unprofitable in Massachusetts, it was a common practice to give away negro children "like puppy dogs."

14. When the Committee in the Convention of 1787 reported that Congress should not undertake to stop the slave-trade till 1800, Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, seconded a motion to substitute 1808, and the motion was supported unanimously by the New Englanders. But in John Fiske's "Civil Government in the United States", referring to this slave-trade agreement (p. 255), he says: "There was some sectional opposition between North and South, and in Virginia there was a party in favor of a separate Southern Confederacy. But South Carolina and Georgia were won over by the concessions in the Constitution to slavery, and especially a provision that the importation of slaves from Africa should not be prohibited until 1808". And Mr. Fiske's sectional blindness re-appears in the "New International Encyclopædia", published by Dodd, Mead & Company, which says: "The bill abolishing the slave-trade (1807) renewed sectional debate, and showed predominant anti-slavery sentiment in the North". But when the bill passed in the House of Representatives, only five members voted in the negative—one from Vermont, one from New Hampshire, two from Virginia, and one from South Carolina.

15. In President Lincoln's message of December 3, 1861, he said: "The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. \* \* \* Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. The mates of vessels engaged in the trade and one person in equipping a vessel as a slaver have been convicted and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on his vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offense under the law, the punishment of which is death".

16. Adopting the rate of increase of the colored population of this country from 1880 to 1890 as the normal rate, per decade, I find that after the courts of Massachusetts began to decide that the children of slaves were free at their birth, the colored population of that State, between 1800 and 1830, fell 2,386 below what it should have been. What became of these unfortunate beings, we may never know; but possibly the legislature of North Carolina had them in mind when, in 1786 it enacted that any person who brought a slave into this State from a State which had made provision for the liberation of its slaves, "should enter into a bond with sufficient surety in the sum of fifty pounds" for the removal of the slave back to the State whence he brought him; and that if he failed to comply with the requirement of the bond, he should be liable to a fine of one hundred pounds in addition to the fifty which he should forfeit. And even as late as 1820, according to Potter, Taylor and Yancey's "Laws of North Carolina", published in 1821, a tax of ten dollars was imposed on each slave brought into North Carolina from another State for sale.

17. In 1788 Massachusetts adopted a regulation that negroes from other States, bond or free, could not settle in her borders unless they carried with them certificates of citizenship, and that a violator of the law should be flogged if he refused to leave the State after being warned by a justice of the peace.

18. One of the first laws adopted by the State of Ohio, which had been settled chiefly by New Englanders, was that no colored person from another State should migrate to Ohio, and that if any white man carried one to that State, he should give a \$500 bond that the black man should not "come upon the town" to be supported.

19. William Elsey Connelley, who was a strong friend of John Brown, declares in "An Appeal to the Record" that the famous "Emigrant Aid Company" which made war on Southerners in Kansas, was organized "for speculative purposes"; and Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in his "Kansas and Nebraska", which was published in 1854, represents the movement to exclude Southerners from those Territories to be partly, if not wholly, intended to convert them into "wealthy colonies" for the benefit of the "factories" of Massachusetts.

20. While Garrison's little band were sending their abolition petitions over the country and into the halls of Congress, Franklin Pierce, a Representative in Congress from New Hampshire, said in a speech delivered during the session which commenced in December, 1835: "I am unwilling that any imputation shall rest upon the North, in consequence of the misguided and fanatical zeal of a few—comparatively very few—who, however honest may have been their purposes, have, I believe, done incalcul-

able mischief, and whose movements, I know, receive no more sanction at the North than they do at the South"; and, as late as January, 1850, Samuel S. Phelps, a Vermont Senator, referring in a speech to what he considered unreasonable complaints on the part of Southerners, said: "As to what has been offensively said at the North, this is a land of free speech; and what is to be done with people who believe themselves charged with a mission, not only to amend the Constitution framed by the wisdom of our fathers, but also to assist the Almighty in the correction of sundry mistakes which they have discovered in His works?"

21. In the inaugural address of Robert J. Walker, a Pennsylvanian and an emancipationist, who had been appointed by President Buchanan Governor of Kansas, he exposed the hypocrisy of the "free-soilers" by declaring that "in their so-called Constitution, formed at Topeka, they deemed that entire race (negroes) so inferior and degraded as to exclude them all forever from Kansas, whether they be bond or free"—the provision having been adopted by more than four-fifths of the votes.

22. In the Constitution of Indiana which was adopted in 1851, after the provision that "no negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage", it is declared that "no negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State". And Indiana, be it remembered, was settled mainly by New Englanders.

23. Up to the time of the adoption of the 14th amendment no colored person could vote in any Northern State east of the Hudson river, nor in Connecticut; and in the few other States where he was not absolutely disfranchised, the right to vote was practically nullified by the requirement of qualifications possessed by few colored persons. In Massachusetts, for example, the voter had to be able to read and write, and had to own a free-hold estate "of the annual income of three pounds."

24. The first fugitive-slave law was a provision in that famous Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, for which Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, has been lauded by all the Northern historians and orators.

25. After Mrs. Stowe had looked over the South for a most revolting brute to ornament her "Uncle Tom's Cabin", she selected "Legree," a New Englander; and then delivered this lecture: "If the mothers of the free States had all felt as they should in times past, the sons of the free States would not have been the holders, and, proverbially, the hardest masters of slaves".

26. It is an appropriate conclusion of this subject to inform the reader that while the landing of that Dutch slaver at Jamestown has never failed to make its appearance in the works of the Northern authors who have been for many generations

teaching our people history and political science, that voyage of the "Desire" and the Fugitive-slave law adopted by the New England Confederation have never been mentioned in one of them, not even Bancroft's elaborate "History of the United States".

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## CHAPTER VI.

### NEW ENGLAND OPPOSED TO "EXPANDING" THE UNION.

1. In 1785, the year after Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the United States, a committee of Congressmen, composed of eight Northerners and four Southerners, reported an ordinance for the sale of land in that Territory, one provision being that each township should be wholly disposed of before any land in another could be sold, thus virtually laying a plan to prevent the settlement of the public lands, and a creation of more States which might not sympathize with the commercial section. But the vigorous and united opposition of Southerners, Grayson and Monroe being among the leaders, assisted by Northerners from non-commercial States, caused this provision to be rejected.

2. In Maclay's account of the discussion of the first naturalization bill, it appears that New Englanders opposed immigration for sectional reasons. He says: "The same illiberality as was apparent on other occasions possessed the New England men. Immigration is a source of population to us and they wish to deprive us of it".

3. Referring to the years following the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, Bancroft says: "An ineradicable dread of the coming power of the Southwest lurked in New England, especially Massachusetts".

4. In Henry Cabot Lodge's *Life of George Cabot*, who had been a Senator in Congress and was afterwards President of the famous Hartford Convention, it is stated that after the Louisiana purchase, Mr. Cabot, as well as other distinguished New Englanders, expressed great dissatisfaction because of the danger of the diminution of "the influence" of their States in Federal legislation.

5. One of the demands of the Hartford Convention was that the Constitution be so amended that "no State be admitted to the Union except by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress".

6. After the Louisiana purchase gave promise of more States which would likely strengthen the South and convert "the wealthy colonies" into independent States, New England be-



came alarmed and raised a bitter cry against "the expansion of slavery"—a cry which is now represented in all the books I have examined to have been an opposition to slavery *per se*, an evidence of a "moral awakening" in the North, and a proof that that section's "humanity" was far above the South's. In volume VII, for example, of John Clark Ridpath's pretentious "History of the World", referring to this "moral awakening", he says: "The conscience of the nation"—the North being the "nation"—"was roused, and the belief began to prevail that slavery was wrong *per se*, and ought to be destroyed", the presumption being that some competent power had authorized the "nation" to destroy it. But the books which Mr. Ridpath had studied were not written for the purpose of dealing fairly with the South, as the reader will perceive if he will examine the pages of Belford's "History of the United States", Benton's "Thirty Years' View" and "Lippincott's "Gazetteer" (1857). In these he will discover that, in a few years after the admission of Missouri, attacks on abolitionists in the North commenced, which may be summed up briefly as follows:

(a). In 1834 "the anti-slavery agitation was creating mob violence; leading abolitionists were brutally attacked, and their dwellings, together with a number of churches, school-houses, and negro homes in various parts of the country destroyed; Philadelphia had a three nights' riot in which the mob assaulted nearly fifty houses inhabited by negroes"; and Arthur and Lewis Tappan, noted abolitionists in the city of New York, were mobbed, the house of the latter and its contents being destroyed.

(b). "Attacks on negroes and abolitionists in the Northern States were of daily occurrence" in the later months of 1835, such agitators as William Lloyd Garrison and George Thompson (Englishmen) being mobbed in Boston.

(c). In this same year an angry mob broke up the school of Prudence Crandall in Canterbury, Connecticut, because she admitted negro children as pupils; and destroyed valuable property. She was imprisoned in the town jail.

(d). In this same year George Thompson wrote to the Leeds Mercury that "rewards were offered for his abduction and assassination"; that "New England had universally sympathized with the South"; that "in every direction he met with those who believed they would be doing God and their country service by depriving him of life"; and Senator Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, stated that Thompson "had escaped from Concord in the night, and in woman's clothes".

(e). In 1837 Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, publisher of an abolition newspaper in Alton, Illinois, was killed by a mob, and his printing establishment destroyed.

(f). In 1838 the Pennsylvania Hall, belonging to the abolitionists of Philadelphia, was attacked by a mob and burned, the Shelter for the Colored Orphans was fired, and the negro quarters attacked.

(g). In 1838 John G. Whittier, now famous for his calumnious "Barbara Frietchie" and "Astræa at the Capital", "faced an enraged mob" in Philadelphia, which destroyed his printing office where his abolition newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, was published.

(h). In September, 1841, an angry mob in Cincinnati destroyed several houses belonging to abolitionists.

(i). Far into the "fifties", as we are told in Alden's *Manifold Cyclopædia*, Wendell Phillips delivered his abolition addresses "in the face of threatened attacks of mobs"; or, as Gen. Donn Piatt tells it, "he was ostracized in Boston and rotten-egged in Cincinnati".

7. After the policy of sectional protection which was adopted in 1824 was made more objectionable and offensive to "the old plantation States" by the passage of the tariff act of 1828—running, for examples, woolen blankets from 25 to 35 per cent., Brussels and Turkey carpets from 50 to 70 cents per square yard, ready-made clothing from 30 to 50 per cent., woolen socks and stockings from 20 to 35 per cent., cotton bagging from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents per square yard, manufactures of wool from 30 to 40 per cent., and continuing black quart bottles for the rum trade on the free list—the necessity of preventing any "expansion" of the Southern States led Senator Foot of Connecticut the next year (1829) to introduce in the Senate a Resolution of Inquiry which, in the judgment of Southern Senators, was evidently intended to further plans to check the settlement of the lands west of the Mississippi River. Mr. Hayne of South Carolina was one of the leaders in exposing and criticizing the purpose of the Northeastern States.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### HOW THE NORTH RESPECTS COMPACTS.

1. On April 1, 1783, while the Congress of the Confederation was planning, at the urgent request of Northerners, to have the Articles of Confederation amended so as to substitute population for land as a basis of taxation in each State, and Southerners were objecting to New England's demand that all slaves should be included in a State's "Federal population", Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, gave as "a cogent reason for hastening



that business, that the Eastern States, at the invitation of Massachusetts, were, with New York, about to form a Convention for regulating matters of common concern"—to violate the second clause of the 6th of "The Articles of Confederation".

This threat induced the Southerners, who were anxious to perpetuate the Union, to consent to include three-fifths of the slaves in the Federal population. But when the Convention of 1787 was endeavoring to agree upon a just basis on which "representatives and direct taxes" should be apportioned among the States, New England strongly insisted that no slaves be included in the Federal population. That is to say: It was just to apportion the burdens of the members of the Confederation according to their wealth-producing power; but it was unjust to permit the Southern States to be represented in the law-making body of the Union in proportion to their wealth-producing power. And this old spirit of sectional injustice appears among the demands of the Hartford Convention.

2. In 1787 the famous Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was adopted by eight States, and the 5,000,000 acres of land in Ohio were sold by the same States, although the pledge to the land States in 1780 declared that the lands should be granted or settled "under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or *nine* or more of them".

3. When Georgia and North Carolina ceded the lands which became Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, it was expressly agreed between them and "the United States", that "no regulations made or to be made shall tend to emancipate slaves" in the ceded territory.

4. When Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia made cessions of their "waste lands," one of the conditions agreed to by all parties was that these lands should be "considered as a common fund for the use and benefit" of all the States, \* \* \* "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever". But the reports of the General Land Office show that this condition has been shamefully disregarded.

5. When the lands west of the Mississippi were purchased, and the taxing system of the Federal government compelled the Southern people to contribute most of the purchase money, it cannot be claimed that it was intended, or that it would be just, to deny that these lands should be "considered as a common fund for the use and benefit" of all the States. But, as Senator Plumb, of Kansas, said in the United States Senate on September 25, 1888, these lands have been so disposed of as to "multiply, develop and strengthen the North".

6. The Constitution says that Congress shall "provide for calling forth the militia to \* \* \* repel invasion"; but when the British invaded the United States in 1812, and the militia of the States was legally called for, Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to obey the call.

7. In the winter of 1813-14, the Federal authorities having learned that the British squadrons on the coast of New England were being supplied with provisions by "small vessels and boats", Congress passed an act to stop this giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy; but the threats of New Englanders to disrupt the Union frightened the Congress, and this act was repealed four days before it adjourned.

8. The Constitution of the United States, as it stood un-amended up to 1798 declared that the "judicial power" should extend to controversies "between a State and citizens of another State"; but when Massachusetts was sued by a citizen of another State in 1793, Governor John Hancock refused to obey the order of the Supreme Court, and the suit was thrown out of Court.

9. The Constitution declares that "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, \* \* \* enter into any agreement or compact with another State"; but in 1814 the Massachusetts legislature invited the other New England States to unite with her in holding the "Hartford Convention", the object being, as was generally understood, to threaten secession and co-erce the Madison administration to put a stop to the war, although, as the Statesman's Manual declares, "the war may be said to have been a measure of the South and West to take care of the interests of the North".

10. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, it contained Nathan Dane's fugitive-slave law; but within a few years after 1850 this law was nullified by thirteen Northern States whose law-makers were under a solemn oath to support it, and who had been for twenty years denouncing South Carolina for nullifying an act of Congress. And here I deem it important and instructive to repeat what was said about this nullification by two distinguished statesmen:

(a). In January, 1850, Senator Jere Clemens, of Alabama, commenting in a speech on the conduct of the nullifiers, said: "To us in Alabama this law has no pecuniary value. But there are other lights in which we view it. If a plain provision of the Constitution can be nullified at will, we have no security that other provisions may not meet a similar fate, bringing a state of things, compared with which revolution, with all its admitted horrors would be trifling indeed. Convince me that this law cannot be executed, and you convince me that this government is and ought to be at an end"; and

(b). In June, 1851, Daniel Webster, whose debates with Messrs. Hayne and Calhoun are represented by about all Northern writers to have demonstrated that the Federal government was created by "the People", and not by the States, and that consequently the States bear about the same relation to it as a County does to its State, delivered an address at Capon Springs, Virginia, in which he said: "How absurd it is to suppose that, when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision and expect, nevertheless, the other to observe the rest. \* \* \* A bargain cannot be broken on one side, and still bind the other side".

11. The Constitution declares that "if a person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime" flees to another State, the latter shall, on demand of the Governor of the injured State, surrender him; but when two of the criminals who served under John Brown when he invaded Virginia, fled, one to Ohio and the other to Iowa, the Governors of those States refused to comply with the demand of the Governor of Virginia for their surrender.

12. When the "more perfect Union" was formed, each State retained what Mr. Jefferson called "interior government", and it is beyond question that the new Constitution would have been unanimously rejected if it had been expected that the Federal government would ever assume to interfere in matters purely local, but "the North" forced the 14th amendment into the Constitution by destroying some of the States and erecting in them governments which did not represent the hereditary citizens; and this amendment subjects the States to the offensive supervision of judges who have for forty years been chosen by "the North".

13. The Constitution declares that "no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State": but in 1863 thirty-nine of Virginia's counties were cut off by "the North" and erected into West Virginia.

14. When Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, and other leaders of the Republican party were balked in their scheme to degrade and insult the Southern people by inserting into the Constitution their 14th Amendment, because no Southern State would consent to its own degradation, and only twenty-one of the other States were willing to assist in the disgraceful movement, these statesmen passed their "reconstruction measures", destroyed the Southern States, and erected in the borders of each what was known as a "carpet-bag" government, in violation of the fundamental principles for which our forefathers contended in the Revolutionary War, in violation of well known provisions of the Compact of Union between the States, and in violation

of their official oaths. Thousands of hereditary voters were disfranchised, the "carpet-bagger" who was not a citizen was given supervision of the election for members of a so-called Constitutional Convention in each province, and a ballot was placed in the hand of every colored man (although no such persons could vote in Pennsylvania, Ohio or Michigan). Of the character of these "carpet-bag" governments the reader may get a glimpse in the following statement made by Charles Nordhoff (a Prussian), who in those days was a trusted correspondent of the New York Herald:

"When in New Orleans last Wednesday (April, 1875) I for the first time saw negro legislators I was unpleasantly startled—not because they were black, but because they were transparently ignorant and unfit \* \* \* openly plundering the State, bribed by rascally whites, and not merely enjoying, but under the lead of white adventurers"—"carpet-baggers"—"shamefully abusing place and power."

15. An appropriate postscript to this exposition of sectional infidelity and injustice is the fact that, with very few exceptions, the most conspicuous and the most bitter advocates of the confiscation of the property of the Southern people and of the enactment of the outrageous "Reconstruction Measures" were natives of New England, as Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Zach. Chandler, Jacob M. Howard, Benjamin F. Wade, Henry Wilson, George F. Edmunds, Charles A. Dana, Henry Ward Beecher, George S. Boutwell, James G. Blaine, Salmon P. Chase, and Hannibal Hamlin; and that two others, namely, John Sherman and Edwin M. Stanton, were of Puritan descent.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### WHY WAS THE CONFEDERACY INVADED.

1. In 1856 the Republican party adopted its first platform, and nominated its first candidate (Fremont) for President; and in its platform, after a bitter cry against the "expansion of slavery", it said:

"Resolved, That \* \* \* the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the Union of the States shall be preserved".

2. In 1860 this party adopted its second platform, and nominated its second candidate (Lincoln) for President; and in its platform, besides continuing the cry against the "expansion of slavery", it said:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and



control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force"—John Brown?—"of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes".

3. In President Lincoln's first inaugural address, he said:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so".

4. A few days after the battle of Manassas (July, 1861), with "a close approach to unanimity", as Bancroft tells us, the Crittenden Resolution was adopted in both houses of Congress, declaring that the war was "not for conquest or for interfering with the domestic institutions of the States".

5. In Rice's "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln", Donn Piatt, of Ohio, who was a General in the Northern army, appears as a contributor. Among the interesting statements made by him are the following: "He (Lincoln) knew and saw clearly that the people of the free States had, not only, no sympathy with the abolition of slavery, but held fanatics, as Abolitionists were called, in utter abhorrence. \* \* \* The unrequited toil of the slave was more valuable to the North than to the South. \* \* \* They (slave-holders) made, without saving, all that we accumulated. \* \* \* I remember when the Hutchinsons were driven from the camps of the Potomac (McClellan's) army for singing their abolition songs, and I remember well that for two years nearly of our service as soldiers we were engaged in returning slaves to their masters, when the poor creatures sought shelter in our lines".

6. One of the contributors to Rice's "Reminiscences", &c., was George W. Julian, the "Free Soil" candidate for Vice-President in 1852, an Indiana Congressman from 1860 to 1870, and an advocate of confiscating all the property of "rebels". Discussing the issuance of Lincoln's "emancipation proclamation", he says:

"Few subjects have been more debated and less understood than the Proclamation of Emancipation. Mr. Lincoln was himself opposed to the measure".

7. The sole object of the invasion and subjugation of the Confederate States must, therefore, have been to drive them back into the Union and keep them as "wealthy colonies"; and the time may not be far off when just men will wonder what sort of a moral code it was which held that all generations of Southerners were bound to labor for the "prosperity" of the North because their Revolutionary ancestors carried their States into a partnership with the Northern States.



## CHAPTER IX.

## HISTORIC INJUSTICE—SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ABOUT EMANCIPATION.

1. On February 24, 1824, Thomas Jefferson addressed a letter to Jared Sparks, a New Englander, who then edited the *North American Review*, urging his plans for emancipating the slaves and deporting them to Sierra Leone; and on January 25, 1832, the Virginia House of Delegates passed a resolution declaring it "expedient to adopt some legislative enactment for the abolition of slavery".

2. During the session of Congress which began on the first Monday of December, 1829, Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, while the Foot resolution was being discussed, said: "I can truly say that slavery, in the abstract, has but few advocates or defenders in the slave-holding States, and that slavery as it is, an hereditary institution, descended upon us from our ancestors, would have fewer advocates among us than it has, if those who have nothing to do with the subject would only let us alone. The sentiment in favor of slavery was much weaker before those intermeddlers began their operations than it is at present".

3. On June 20, 1832, William Gaston, delivering the Literary Address before the students of the University of North Carolina, urged the importance of devising a plan of liberating the slaves. He said: "On you, too, will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for North Carolina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the Southern part of our Confederacy. \* \* \* How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty without referring to this subject", &c.

4. In Henry Howe's "Historical Collections of Virginia", which was published in 1845, he says that the movement for the abolition of slavery in Virginia was checked by the machinations of certain Northern reformers who claimed a sort of Divine appointment to supervise the South. Referring to these overseers of the Southern people, he says: "There were obvious causes in operation which paralyzed the friends of abolition, and have had the effect of silencing all agitation on the subject"; and confirming the opinion of Mr. Howe, President Jackson, in his annual message of December 2, 1835, referring to the mischievous labors of Northern abolitionists, said: "I must also

invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South, by attempts to circulate, through the mails, inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war."

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#### NORTHERN BLINDNESS.

1. In his "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors", John Fiske (appointed instructor in history in Harvard 1870; appointed lecturer on American history in Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1881; appointed Professor of that branch in that institution 1884; was a lecturer on that subject in University College, London, 1879, and in the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1880) says on page 181 that "after the final suppression of the slave trade in 1808 and the consequent increased demand for Virginia-bred slaves, the thought of emancipation vanished from the memory of man".

2. On the night of March 3, 1801, John Adams, the retiring President, left the Federal Capital so as to avoid sharing in the ceremonies attending the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson, thus exhibiting a sectional antipathy which has either been kept out of the works of standard Northern authors or has been misrepresented, as can be seen in Alden's *Manifold Cyclopædia* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (with "American Revisions and Additions"). In the sketch of the life of John Adams in each of these works, the contest between the friends of these two candidates in 1800 is represented to have been a struggle between "freedom" and "slavery". Alden says: "The slave power was also beginning to be a factor in domestic politics, under the leadership, of Jefferson, and so, on the election of his rival to the Presidential chair, Adams vacated the office without even waiting to see his successor take his seat".

But this same *Cyclopædia* says that in 1804 Massachusetts cast her nineteen electoral votes for Mr. Jefferson!

3. On February 13, 1860, the New York Tribune spread this falsehood all over the North:

"We were apprised by the official returns of 1850, that the lands of the South were held by a small number of proprietors, and the residue of white citizens were without property, and therefore were in serfdom. \* \* \* The white population of the South, other than the great land proprietors, have no interest in the soil", &c. And as late as 1888 George W. Julian, one of the "reconstruction" statesmen who has been already referred to, said in Rice's "Reminiscences", &c.: "The nation was strug-

gling for its life against a rebellious aristocracy founded on the monopoly of land and the ownership of slaves"—the "North" being "the nation".

But the census of 1850 shows that in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi there were 291,626 landholders, of whom 91,797 owned no slaves. And this census shows that, counting five white persons to a family, 50 per cent. of the families in these six Southern States owned no farms, and that the farmless families in Ohio were 63 per cent. of the total. Possibly the Tribune and Mr. Julian, if they had desired to know the truth, may have discovered that thousands of lawyers, doctors, teachers, merchants, preachers, railroad and steamboat employees, and persons engaged in other business occupations had no use for farms or slaves.

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## CHAPTER X.

### AN UNAVOIDABLE SEQUENCE.

Searching among the most trustworthy records of the social and political institutions of ancient and mediæval nations for the causes which led to periods of exceptional moral degradation, I have been convinced by Gibbon, Milman, Hallam and others that every such period has followed and resulted from a repudiation of the popular Divinities by the honored leaders of the people and the consequent weakening of the binding power of their hereditary moral code. This repudiation often, if not invariably, resulted from hostile conflicts between nations or tribes which had inherited different religious systems and worshipped different gods; and in many cases there resulted an infidelity in both combatants. The struggle to introduce Christianity into the Roman empire, with its provinces and dependencies worshipping all sorts of gods, from a stone up to Jupiter, furnishes many illustrations of this truth; appalling pictures of depravity throughout the Byzantine empire, in France, in Asia Minor, and in some of the famous cities, during three or four centuries following the decree adopting Christianity, render almost every page of their history revolting to this enlightened age.

Coming nearer to our own time, we find the evidence furnished by the records of the early religious struggles corroborated by the results of the contest between the Puritans and their opponents; and it seems to be beyond cavil that whenever the trusted leaders of the people, whether social, civil, political or religious, cease to respect the moral code of their fathers and mothers and surrender themselves to the control of vindictive,

selfish or mere animal sentiments, a gradual decay of civic virtue sets in, and no class of the people can escape the infection of the prevailing vice.

Convinced that we have now a key to the solution of the problem presented by the political and social corruption which has been for a generation saddening the hearts of all the wise and noble men and women who have firmly held on to the ideals of their mothers and fathers; and searching among the records of our recent past for the foundation stone on which present conditions rest, I found it in 1861, when the Republican party came into power and rejected the moral code on which stood an enviable civic righteousness, and substituted for it a new law which may be detected in the acts and the assertions of honored leaders of that party, of which the three following will be enough for our purpose:

1. On October 4, 1900, Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, delivered a speech at Canion, Ohio, in which he said:

"Nothing can be more mischievous than a principle misapplied. The doctrine that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed was applicable to the conditions for which Jefferson wrote it and to the people to whom he applied it. \* \* \* Lincoln did not apply it to the South, and the great struggle of the Civil War was a solemn assertion by the American people"—that is, the people of the Northern States—"that there are other principles of law and liberty which limit the application of the doctrine of consent. Government does not depend upon consent."

2. On July 6, 1861, two days after Congress met in extra session, Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution to approve as constitutional certain acts of President Lincoln which the whole body of Senators knew to be unconstitutional, and some of which are mentioned and admitted to be "without authority of law" in President Lincoln's message of May 26, 1862, as the drawing of money out of the Federal treasury, the increasing of the military force, the purchasing of vessels for naval purposes, the blockading of the ports of the Southern States, and the suspending of the writ of habeas corpus wherever he pleased—a resolution which was never permitted to come to a vote. And—

3. In the summer of 1863, President Lincoln and his followers in Congress cut off thirty-nine Virginia counties and admitted them into partnership with the other States as West Virginia. This was in violation of an express provision of that Constitution which all these statesmen had solemnly sworn to support; and if anything like this had been done in private life, the perpetrators would have been rewarded by a sojourn in some penitentiary.



Thus we have it acknowledged by the highest authority that the Republican party entered upon that career which seems to challenge formidable opposition in the Northern States, under the leadership of a man who rejected the only claim of our Revolutionary sires which the civilized world has admitted to have been a valid excuse for overthrowing British rule in the thirteen States, and thus re-established, so far as he could, the Mediæval rule for the guidance of strong communities when dealing with weak ones; who repudiated the binding force of an official oath, and thus destroyed the sanctity of a solemn appeal to the Almighty, and the safeguards against perjury in courts of justice; and who taught his followers that in our dealings with our fellow men we have no guide above expediency.

Such was the man who is held up before our children to-day as "greater than Washington" and the equal of any of the famous statesmen and patriots who laid the foundations of the civilization of our fathers and mothers. Now let us look over the ground and see some of the results of this new code of morals—this obliteration of the boundary between right and wrong, and acceptance of the doctrine that might makes right:

1. After fighting four years to "save the Union and the Constitution," the Republican party set aside the Constitution and destroyed the Southern States by passing the "Reconstruction Measures." In other words, the leaders of that party committed what every one of them knew to be perjury.

2. Soon after the war John C. Fremont, the Republican party's first candidate for the Presidency, in partnership with other distinguished leaders of that party, undertook the building of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. While engaged in raising the necessary funds, Fremont, his brother-in-law and his secretary, went to France, "flooded the small moneyed classes in Paris with circulars, pamphlets and maps, outrageously distorting the physical geography of the United States to serve their purposes and setting forth grossly untruthful statements, and received thousands of dollars for bonds utterly worthless." Prosecutions in the French courts led to the conviction of all three as swindlers, and orders for their imprisonment; but Fremont and his secretary sneaked out of France in the darkness of night. In 1878, however, three years after this conviction, this criminal was appointed governor of Arizona by Rutherford B. Hayes, another representative of the new moral code.

3. After Fremont's swindling operations had been fully explained to Congress by reports from Elihu B. Washburn, United States minister at Paris, James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives, called late at night on the chairman of the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads, and "plead and urged"



that he withdraw his objections to the passage of a bill to "aid Gen. Fremont and others in the construction" of the before-mentioned railroad—and to do so "in the interest of the Republican party."

4. In 1872, while Congress was considering measures to make donations to the company which was engaged in building the Pacific Railway, it was "publicly charged that the Vice-President Schuyler Colfax), the Vice-President-elect (Henry Wilson), the Secretary of the Treasury (Lott M. Morrill), the Speaker of the House (J. G. Blaine), and several United States Senators and Representatives had accepted presents of stock tendered to influence them in favor of the railroad company. A committee of investigation was appointed by the House in December, and in the following February it recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, and James Brooks, of New York." As to other criminals the committee did not push the investigation, and when asked the reason, one of them replied that "the scent was getting too hot."

Lack of space will not permit me to give even a partial list of the noted crimes of the Republican party, or to go into particulars to prove that the manners and customs of large portions of the country have descended to the level established by that party's new moral code; and hence I close this branch of the subject by quoting what has been said by four gentlemen whose testimony will not be questioned anywhere in this country:

1. In the summer of 1876, while William W. Belknap, the Secretary of War, was on trial for corrupt practices—and 36 out of 61 senators voted to convict him, Representative G. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, said: "I have seen in that State which is foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a by-word throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs \* \* \* rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school," etc.

2. Six years ago the Rev. Morgan Dix delivered the Thanksgiving sermon in Trinity church, New York, saying, among other things: "Class legislation; the insolence of wealth and the angry discontent of the poor; the growth of luxuries, riotous living; the misuse of money, and its reckless squandering on pleasure and pride; education without religion, the steady breaking up of homes by divorce, and adulterous remarriages; the appearance of vast systems of religious imposture, and their success in making converts; the spirit of gambling in every place where it can be practiced; the cold-blooded assaults on private property by those who attack corporations and drag them down

to bankruptcy for their own advantage, in order to enrich themselves by the losses which their acts bring about; \* \* \* the steady decline of womanhood," etc.

3. In March, 1900, the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, referring to the greed of the privileged ship-builders in this country, said:

"Some of the ship-owners have been making a very handsome thing out of the government's imperial transport service. It appears from a statement submitted to Congress last week by Secretary Root that the government has paid in two years for the mere use of some of the transports sums greater than their assessed valuation. Thus the owners of the transport Senator, valued at \$400,000, have received within two years \$534,375 for the use of the vessel between San Francisco and Manila. This was net profit; for the government has met the expense of refitting the ship and the expense of operating it. Three other transports owned by Pacific coast companies have also been noticeably profitable to the owners—the government having already paid, above their assessed valuation, \$128,770. A certain United States Senator is said to be heavily interested in one of the companies."

4. And three years ago President Schurman, of Cornell University, delivered an address in which he said: "It is a generation which has no fear of God before its eyes; it fears no hell; it fears nothing but the criminal court, the penitentiary and the scaffold.

"To 'get there' and not get caught is its only Golden Rule. To 'get rich quick' the financiers of this age will rob the widow and the orphans, grind the faces of the poor, speculate in trust funds, and purchase immunity by using other people's money to bribe legislators, judges and magistrates."

The revolting picture here presented, let it be remembered, is of conditions in the Northern States, where the new standard of right was adopted forty-eight years ago, and it is difficult for Southerners who have fought manfully against the introduction of the new divinities into the "Solid South," to realize the shameful depravity here revealed; and it must seem to well-informed people one of the wonders of the age that any Southern man who feels a glow of pride in the sturdy virtues of his people, is willing to submit quietly to the invasion of his State by the destructive influences here disclosed.

NOTE.—What is said of Messrs. Fremont and Blaine was found in "Civil War Echoes: Character Sketches and State Secrets", a work written by Hamilton Gay Howard, a son of the author of the thirteenth amendment, and a kinsman of President Taft.





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